

Dialectic Process in History and Constitutive Politics

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Abstract

Critical philosophy can be very complex. But this does not mean it is abstracted from historical and social development in an elitist manner. It has profound ideological content that is connected to understanding the contradictions of domination and alienation produced by dialectical process. Hegelian contradictions are not ontologically connected to the material contradiction of historical reality. Marx's materialistic dialectic has not resolved the idealist problems of Hegel's dialectic because the role of absolute spirit. Habermas undermines the Kantian role for philosophy and bring them into fully cooperate relation to social sciences. A theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation to liberate human being from circumstances that enslaves them especially in developing countries. We have to take productive power of universalist reason beyond object and order to from a constitutive outside. The refusal to bring normativity to autonomy by linking it to well-being as positive human value is the basic question. A practical approach to critical theory responds to pluralism in the social sciences in two ways once again embracing and reconciling both side of traditional opposition between epistemic explanatory and non-epistemic interpretive approach to normative claim. History presents certain regularities and permits of certain generalization which can serve as a guide to future action. It is not that determinism is false but it is a fallacy to make impersonal forces responsible for what men had done. Dialectic has no remainder and history left no room for loser.

Introduction

Theory means finding order among elements. Every order has a constitutive outside which is penetrated by it. In ancient world view, humans are undifferentiated from nature. In the modern view the world is perceived as an objective reality which is open to scientific observation and manipulation. Here, man became labor and nature become land. Kant's epistemological revolution separated our senses from the objects of their perception. This has resulted in the ontological estrangement and alienation which is characteristics of contemporary world in which man become part of population in economic point of view.

The Copernicus revolution can be understood as simply a specific paradigm shift in modern astronomy. It recognized that earth was not the absolute fix center of the universe. This shift can be seen as a fundamental metaphor for the entire modern world view. It is the radical displacement of human being to a relative and peripheral position in a vast and impersonal universe. Descartes grasped the experience of the emerging autonomous modern self as being fundamental distinct and separate from an objective external world that it seek to understand and master.

Human kind is its own in the universe and its cosmic place irrevocably produced a great epistemological crisis. Descartes was in this sense the crucial mid-point between Copernicus and Kant. For Kant, the crucial fact of all human knowledge is interpretive. Human beings does not know the world itself but rather the world is rendered by human mind. Thus Descartes' ontological schism was both made more absolute and superseded by Kant's epistemological schism. The cosmological estrangements of modern consciousness initiated by Descartes were completed by epistemological estrangement initiated by Kant. The post-Kantian dilemma of their being has no possible means by which the human subject can know the universe in its essence. The modern mind has demanded a specific type of interpretation of the world. Its scientific method has required explanation of phenomena that are predictive and therefore impersonal and mechanistic.

Dehumanizing man:

In 'Knowledge and Unconscious' Nietzsche said in that there are no facts but only interpretation. Freud played a fascinatingly multiple role in the unfolding of the greater Copernican revolution. Psychoanalysis represented the third counting blow to man's naïve pride and self-love, the first being Copernicus heliocentric theory, second being Darwin's theory of evolution. Psychoanalysis revealed that not only is the earth not the center of universe, and not only is man not the privileged focus of creation, but even human being rational self is by no means master of its own house. Freud brought the fundamental recognition that the apparent reality of the objective world was being

unconsciously determined by the condition of the subject. Discovery of unconsciousness collapsed the old boundaries of interpretation. Freud's understanding of the mind had been limited by Darwin pre-dispositions. In certain ways, collective consciousness too could be seen as merely reinforcing the Kantian epistemology. Subject reported the experience at the level possessed an intensity and universality that for surpassed with each other in a very complex way. The fundamental subject-object dichotomy has governed and defined consciousness. It was formulated the separate modern –rational self.

The evolution of world view is that the human mind is ultimately the organ of the world's own process of self-revelation. Kantian consequence of epistemological alienation is to be entirely overcome. The world speaks its meaning through human consciousness. From this perspective, the dualistic epistemology derived from Kant and enlightenment is not simply the opposite to the romanticism which is a necessary stage in the evolution of human mind.

Quest for knowledge ultimately come from something for deeper than purely human source. They come from the well-spring of nature itself. From the universal consciousness that is brought forth through the human mind and human imagination and its gradual unfolding of reality. In this view, the theory of Copernicus is simply due to the luck of a stranger and it reflects the radical kinship of human minds with the cosmos. Paradigm is itself part of a larger evolutionary process. We can now also suggest a revolution to that fundamental problem left by Kuhn—the problem explaining why in the history of science, one paradigm is chosen over another.

The social structure in modern time ruled by an economic principle of rationality defined in terms of efficiency in allocation of resources. The culture, in contrast, is promiscuous dominated by anti-rational temper. From nineteenth century, the structure emphasises on self-discipline and clashes sharply with the culture where such bourgeois value has been completely rejected in part. Does observation here suggest that the anti-puritanical turn of culture may be serving the dialectical capitalism order?

Between human instinct and the necessary repression, there brought on by the socially acquired conscience. Freud claims that the history of man is the history of his repression of instinct. Marcuse concludes that biological repression itself is not a problem but that our trouble stem from the additional 'surplus repression' produce by specific historical institutions of our own period. The result is that Rousseau's affirmation is that man is dehumanized through civilization.

One dimensional man is an indictment of the social order of the advanced industrial society, where man is dehumanized by institutions which mystify him and certain social changes by means of repressive tolerance. He accuses them of confusing ideology with reality and minimizing biological sphere. In a preface to 'Eros and Civilization'(1), Marcuse assures us that there protest will continue because it is a biological necessity.

Marcuse is explicit in claiming that the distinction between psychological and political categories has been made obsolete by condition of man in present era. In 'Eros and civilization, he assure us that 'their protest will continue because of it is bio-logical necessity. It is becoming increasingly clear that the whole spectrum of disciplines from genetic to psychology and psychology to social science is not value free.

Many of these theorists experienced that traditional Marxist theory could not adequately explain the troubled and unexpected development of capitalist and their writing pointed to the possibility of an alternative path to social development. Thinkers like Adorno and Horkheimer particularly influenced by the failure of the working class revolution in dialectic process in Western Europe and the rise of Nazism is such an economically and technologically advanced nation as Germany. The growing influence of national socialism became even more threatening its founders decide to prepare to move the institutions out of country(2). Frankfurt School's work can not be fully comprehended without equally understanding the aimed at change and emancipation through enlightenment. Horkheimer opposed to traditional scientific method which refers to theory in the positivistic scientific which derives generalizations and laws about different aspects of the world. According to Horkheimer generalization cannot be easily made from so called experiences.(3) Researcher does not realize that he or she is caught in historical context of dialectic and psychoanalytic in which ideologies shape the thinking. But critical theory defends the primacy of neither matter.(4). In Horkheimer words, the goal of critical theory is the emancipation of human beings from the circumstances that enslave them.(5)

Dialectic upside down:

The study of history is limited to the description of past and present realities. Hence to Hegel and to his successor, dialectic inevitably leads to the oppose of the status quo. Hegel was criticized by Marx who claimed that Hegel had

gone too far in defending his abstract conception of absolute reason and failed to notice the real life conditions of the working class. By turning Hegel's idealistic dialectic upside-down, Marx advances his own theory of dialectic materialism. Critical theory rejected the dogmatic historicism and materialism of orthodox Marxism.

The Critique of capitalism turned into a critique of western civilization as a whole. For Adorno and Horkheimer, state intervention in the economy had effectively abolished the tension in capitalism between productive forces of society of society and the relation of production- a tension which according to Marxist theory constituted the primary contradiction within capitalism. Dialectic order of repressive dimension of elite culture suppresses working class through popular culture. The encounters between mass culture and popular culture are manipulated by elites.

The case is not always same with the growth of advanced industrial society. Critical theorists recognised that the industrial working class no longer remained the determinate negation of capitalism. This led to attempt to root the dialectic in a absolute method of negativity as Marcuse's 'One Dimensional Man' (1964), Adorno 'Negative Dialectic' (1966). Marcuse did so through analysis of structural changes in process under capitalism. Negative dialectics rescues the preponderance of the object, not through a naïve epistemological or metaphysical realism but through a thought based on differentiation paradox of remainder.

Negative Dialectic comprises a monument to end of the tradition of the individual subject as the focus of criticism. Without a revolutionary working class the dialectic become more and more abstract. Habermas epistemology synthesize these two traditions by showing that phenomenological and transdental analysis can be subsumed under materialist theory of social evolution. While the materialist theory makes sense only as part of quasi-transdental theory of emancipating knowledge that is self-reflection of cultural evolutionary order. By locating the condition of rational in the social structure of languages, Habermas moves the locus of rationality from autonomous subject in interaction. Rationality is property not of individual per se but rather of structure of undistorted communication.

Communicative Ethics: The capitalist technological society weakens the autonomy and rationality of the subject. It is not through the domination of the individual by apparatus but through technology supplanting a desirable rationality of communication. In his sketch of communicative ethics as the highest state in the internal logic of the evolution of ethical system, Habermas hints at the source of new political practice that incorporate the imperative of evolutionary rationality.

Philosopher Karl Popper believed that the school did not live up to Marx's promise of the better future. The depths of these problems indicate just how wrong was Habermas to linguistic inter-subjectivity. Habermas accused Hegel of creating a conception of reason so overwhelming that it solve the problem of modernities self assurance. He wrote the change of paradigm to linguistic inter-subjectivity has been accompanied by dramatic change in critical theories of self-understanding. The priority given to questions of justice and normative order of society has remolded critical theory in the image of liberal theory. It has severely weekend the identity of critical theory. Critical theory should reinvent itself as possible disclosing enterprise. (6)

Adorno proposition consists in retaining at time going beyond Kant's negative critique as well as Hegel's dialectic negativity. Adorno doctrines are more valuable negative dialectic side by side surpassing Kant and Hegel. Adorno believes that standard mode of human understanding is identify thinking which means that a particular object is understood in term of a universal concept. The meaning of an object is grasped when it has been categorized subsumed under a general concept. In opposition to identity thinking, Adorno posits negative dialectic or non-identity thinking. The consciousness of non-identity thinking reconciles particular and universal without reducing quality to category. (7)

Leaving a remainder: Adorno argues that genuine dialectical method can not spelled out in straight forward narrative forms. To establish the identity of dialectical method through such narrative would render the method impotent. The key principle of dialectical thinking for Adorno is the principle of non-identity. By this principle Adorno means that objects do not go into their concept without leaving a remainder. Adorno appears to be attacking both philosophical basis of Hegel's dialectic and the dogma of dialectical materialism. (8)

It is the inherent incompleteness of our experiences which provides continual stimulus for dialectical enquiry. Dialectic method does not provide a privileged intuition in the nature of the world. On the contrary, the dialectic method when employed must usually afford an understanding of the world which capture its essence only at one particular historical juncture. Adorno was chiefly influenced by Lukacs 'Hegelian Interpretation of Marxism'. Adorno along with Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse argued that advance capitalism had managed to contain or liquidate the forces that would have been possible to transform into socialism, had passed. Adorno argues that capitalism had become more entrenched through its attack in the objective basis of revolutionary consciousness and through liquidation of individualism. Adorno saw the culture industries as an arena in which critical tendencies or

potentialities were eliminated. He argued that the culture industries which produce and circulated through the mass media, manipulated the population. Popular culture was identified as a reason why people become passive. The easier pleasure available through consumption of popular culture made people docile and content no matter how terrible the economic circumstances.

Both Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno are author of the book called 'Dialectic of Enlightenment'(1947)(9). Both found that there is certain ambivalence concerning the ultimate source of foundation of social domination, an ambivalence gives rise to pessimism of a new critical theory over the possibility of human emancipation and freedom. The ambivalence was rooted of course in historical circumstances in which work was originally produced in particularly the rise of National Socialism in Germany. State capitalism and mass culture was entirely new forms of social domination that could not be adequately explained within the traditional form of critical theory. Market as an unconscious mechanism for the distribution of goods and private property had been replaced by centralized planning in Germany after the first world war.

Contrary to Marx's prediction, this shift did not lead to an era of social revolution but rather to fascism and totalitarianism. In 'One Dimensional Man' Herbert Marcuse analyses both contemporary capitalism and society in former Soviet Union as a form of social repression as well as the decline of revolutionary potential in the west. He argued that advanced industrial society created false needs which integrated individuals into the existing system of production and consumption via mass-media advertising, industrial management and so on. He also analysed the integration of industrial working class in to capitalist society and a new forms of capitalist socialisation. In contrast to orthodox Marxism, Marcuse championed non-integrated forces of minorities, outsiders and radical intelligentsia attempting to nourish oppositional thought and behavior through promoting radical thinking and opposition. It articulated their growing dissatisfaction with both capitalist society and communist societies. Marcuse strongly criticized the idea as repressive desublimation which dialectical process legitimised. (11).

Marcuse strongly criticized consumerism because it is a form of social control. He suggested that the system we live seems to be democratic but actually it is authoritarian. Few individual are dictating our perceptions of freedom by allowing us choice to buy for happiness. It is in this state of freedom in which consumers act irrationally by working more than they are required to fulfill actual basic needs ignoring the psychologically destructive effects, ignoring the environmental damage it causes to us. It also searches social capital through material items.

In 'Eros and Civilization' Herbert Marcuse synthesizes theory of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. It discusses social meaning of biology. History is seen not as a form of class struggle, but fight against repression of our instinct. He argues that modern capitalism with its dialectical process is preventing us from reaching a non-repressive society based on a fundamentally different experience of being and fundamentally different existential relation. (12)

It contends Freud argument that repression is needed by civilization to persist is mistaken as Eros is liberating and constructive. Progress for Marcuse is a concept that provides the explanation and excuse of why the system has to continue. It is the reason which requires the happiness of people is sacrificed. The argument is that instinct can be shaped by historical phenomena such as progress.(13)

For Freud the greater possibilities of human freedom are to be found in the conquest of unconsciousness. They become more self aware to achieve greater freedom and freedom is grounded in possibility for change. These freedom leads to cultural synthesis with unconsciousness.

The potential self-undermining of self contradiction of task of consciousness that Adorno found in Freud as providing descriptive theories that in turn must be subjected to critical reflection within a Marxism socio-cultural frame. For Adorno, in Freud unconsciousness, there is non-identity of the 'subject' in 'Hegelian-Marxian' term. Kant was concerned with self-conscious freedom, a description of self-alienated character of subjectivity of modern capital.

The fear of freedom is thus index of freedom of possibilities. Repression implies opposite of transformation to unconsciousness. Perhaps the most paradoxical thought in the aftermath of 1933, Nazi seized of power was the need for a Marxian approach to attend the progressive character of fascism. Reich thought that Marxian had failed to head the unconscious impulse that was otherwise expressed by Fascism. Fascism has resulted from Marxian failure to meet the demands of individuals out spaced by history.(14) Freud conceived the psychical development as an open ended process of consciousness in freedom. The fear of freedom was expressed in the individual retreat from ego psychology, narcissistic recoil from an intractable social reality. This is for Adorno was the emancipator potential of narcissism.

Politics out of history: Luckac's 'History of Class Consciousness' initiated the current of thought that come to be known as western Marxism. His work elaborates and expands upon Marxist theories such as ideology of false

consciousness. It is scientific conviction that dialectical materialism is the road to truth. The world is the product of human activity and this can be seen only if the primacy of social process on individual consciousness. This does not entail the Luckacs restrains human liberty on behalf of somekind of sociological determinism. For Luckacs' ideology is really a projection of class consciousness of the bourgeoisie which prevent the proletariat from attaining a real consciousness of its revolution position. The so called eternal laws of economics are dismissed as the ideological illusion projected by current from of objectivity. Due to the commodity nature of capitalist society, social relations become objectified precluding the ability for a spontaneous emergence of classic consciousness. So here people consciousness of history was relatively underdeveloped.

Another standard Marxist critique of liberal capitalism follows including criticism of the evacuation of the real public space by media who construct a new phantom state. Marxism badly needs here at least to explain the discrepancies between people in this new order. We need to preserve the critical if we need to discard concept such as 'mode of production' of social class. Deconstruction can operate properly only within the space left by Marxist critique.

Philosophy can be very complex, But this does not mean it is abstracted from historical and social development in an elitist manner. Philosophy has profound ideological content that is connected to understanding the contradictions of domination and alienation produce by capital. (15) Despite Hegel's immerse contradiction to philosophy, his dialectic is ultimately not realistic because reality is considered to be indeterminate and abstract of it, is not content of absolute spirit. Thus absolute spirit resolves contradictions in an idealist manner. This means Hegelian contradictions are not ontologically connected to the material contradiction of historical reality. Marx's materialistic dialectic has not definitely resolved the idealist problems of Hegel's dialectic because the role of absolute spirit has been projected into proletariat. The crucial role of ethical scrutiny of politics has become dismissed as idealist or Kantian. The accomodation of idealism is departure from realist philosophical promise of dialectic. Idealism of Hegel emphasizes upon philosophical consciousness rather than revolutionary class practice. Dialectical realism is another form of necessary connection between proletariat and philosophical enquiry about reality. To reject philosophy in the name of Marxism is effectively to act on behalf of petty bourgeoisie against proletariat. Dialectic critical relations does not have all answers and even has its idealist aspects but its contribution to philosophical development can be facilitate human emancipation. The expansion of capital is always according to surplus value..So capital absorbs new spaces and makes further claims on time and on future production. Under consumption is a restatement of missing surplus value. The marginal utility of money declines as personal wealth increases. Capital is general loyal to no country and remains free to pursue its own advantage.

Dialectic and liberalism: In liberalism, we can bring normativity to autonomy by linking it to well being. We have to take productive power of universalist reason beyond object and order to form a constitutive outside. In dialectic of Marx, there is no constitutive outside or remainder. In short, productive power only makes sense to the extent that limits or enable human autonomy. To consider both truth and power is contradictory, for as such they can only amount to ideology and domination. It is his refusal to accept autonomy as positive human value which undermines the effectiveness of his theory for understanding the human capacity to transfer the social. Adorno and Horkheimer did not deny the achievement of enlightenment but rather wanted to show that it had self destructive tendencies. This is specific to social, cultural and conceptual forms realized in modern Europe contained its own possibility of a reversal that is universally apparent today. Habermas undermines both the traditional Kantian role for philosophy and brings them into fully cooperate relation to social sciences. His definition is epistemic and inter-subjective.

A theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation to liberate human being from the circumstances that enslave human being. Many critical theories emerge in connection with the many social movement that identify varied dimension of domination of beings in modern societies. The relation of transformation of Kantian ethics and autonomy into concept of freedom and justice is where democracy plays central role. As a member of second generation of critical theory, Habermas, in particular has develop this dimension of normative political theory in a competition to Rawlsian costructivism. Order comes as agent of choice in case of good and agent of constuction in case of rights.

Democracy is also a particular structure of free and open communication. Habermas's conception of the cooperation between philosophy and social science is rational construction of practical knowledge.. The limit of democracy was greatly influenced by the emergence of Fascism in 1930s. Much of this research was concerned with tighter connection between states and market in advance capitalist societies. In 'Legitimation Crisis' (1969), Habermas argues not only that the demands of advance capitalism restrict the scope and significance of democracy, but also

state is crisis ridden and unable to solve structural problems of unemployment, economic growth and environmental destruction.

A practical approach to critical theory responds to pluralism in the social sciences in two ways once again embracing and reconciling both side of traditional opposition between epistemic explanatory and non-epistemic interpretive approach to normative claim. Critical theory has always insisted that they are both explanatory and normative order at the same time.

The reduction of man to labour and nature to land under impulsion of Market economy turns modern history into a high drama. Karl Polanyi denounces the economic prejudice found in both the market liberalism and consumerism of Karl Marx. As a economic historian, he turned conventional argument upside down, asserting that free market were actually the product of centralizing state while state while effort to control such market were popular movement born outside states. Polanyi's view of market rationalism could not survive within necessarily opposes democratic self-regulatory order.

Aristotle said that we cannot prove everything because we have to start somewhere. He also said that we can learn the nature of anything only when it has reached and passed its maturation. What distinguishes the historian, is the proposition of things led to another. History presents certain regularities and permits of certain generalizations which can serve as a guide to future action. In the case of Isaiah Berlin, he does not say determinism was false, but merely said that it was a fallacy to make impersonal forces responsible for what men had done. Dialectic is just opposite of it.

History left no room for loser and dialectic has no remainder. A mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angle, it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinite shapes. History in fact not mere in term of accuracy, but also in term of bringing into the practice all knowable facts that were relevant to the subject and the argument. The French Revolution undermined the ahistorical outlook of the enlightenment which rested on a conception of human nature 'In What Is History?' of E. H. Carr.(16). He noted that history is progress as many think what dialectic process is. After First World War, Toynbee made a desperate attempt to replace the linear view of history by psychical theory—the characteristic of ideology of a society is decline. Darwin brought history to science. Science was concerned no longer with some thing state and timeless but with a process of change and development. Determinism is a problem not only of history but of all human behavior. It was Jews and after them Christian who introduce an entire new elements by postulating a good towards which the historical process is moving. Is it teleological view of history?

Concluding Observations: History thus acquired a meaning and purpose but at the expense of loosing secular character. Marx and Freud wrote that historian has no excuse to think of himself as a detached individual standing outside society. Modern History begins when more and more people emerging into social and political consciousness become aware of their historical entities. For Hegel, world order is growing even more rational, for Kant, more peaceful, for Paine, it is evolution of principle of natural rights. While sovereignty and right have suffered severe erosion of their bases of bourgeois aspiration in modernity, we have not replaced them as sources of political agency and sites of justice claims for developing country.

How dialectic fits into progress and determinism? It is only liberal democracies that appear to have lost the thread of progress in history. In post-communist states the triumph of liberalism which is unable to invade constitutive outside of a order heralded in 1989 was short lived. It is neither liberalism nor triumph. The collapse of expectations resulted from the wars in former Yugoslavia and Chechnya. Liberalism sharp encounter in recent decade with it constitutive outside of dialectic method remains with its remainder which is more than simply containment of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis.

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